

¹⁶ The People of Alor

¹⁰¹ It is fifty miles from the port of Kalabahi on the western bay to Kolara on the east coast, but by pushing himself a native can walk the distance in some four days. The usual time allowed by officials on horseback is five. It does not seem improbable, therefore, that linguistic variation has been fostered by the difficulty of communication.

¹⁰¹ Culturally too, changes grade from one into the other as one passes from village to village. The only sharp demarcations are between the ten thousand coastal Mohammedans and the pagan mountain peoples of the interior. These two groups hold each other in mutual distrust and fear. At the end of the nineteenth century Chinese merchants began trading on the coast. After the arrival of the first Dutch official in about 1908 coastal men have been designated as *radjahs* by the Dutch and have been given control over the interior. This control was only gradually extended and was considered by the Hollanders still to be in process, since Malay is not yet widely known in the interior and taxes are still reluctantly paid. Prior to the Hollanders' arrival no such areas of political organization existed; social control centered about kin and village groups. Certainly the coastal people exercised no power over the mountain population, despite brisk trade contacts at stipulated market places.

¹⁷⁷ At present the island is divided into four *radjahships*: Alor proper (including the islands of Pura and Puntar), Kul, Barulalong, and Kolara. These political divisions cut across both culture and language. Under each *radjah* are *kaptans* who, with the assistance of a handful of field police, administer smaller districts. The principal functions of the *radjahs* and *kaptans* are collecting taxes and hearing litigations. A chief called the *kupala* (Malay for head) has been appointed for these tasks in each village, and groups of friendly villages have been unified under a headman called a *tumukun*. This hierarchy is a Dutch innovation, but it has been quite heartily accepted by the native population, with whom it functions successfully. The system of litigation, however, has been far more completely accepted than the system of taxation.

⁶⁴⁸ The government of the Netherlands East Indies is represented by a civil administrator of *controleur* rank and by a military authority of *luitenant's* rank in charge of a garrison of some seventy Indonesian troops. Two or three patrols of fifteen men are constantly on the move through the island, often coming across the most difficult terrain and always without announcing their route of travel. In addition there is a military doctor, who is responsible for the health of the entire population. He has a hospital in Kalabahi and a small corps of Indonesian assistants with limited training.

577 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I
181 was deceiving them. Only actual preparations convinced them. In fact, Fante the interpreter, who insisted that I really meant to leave, was recommended by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way; we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *fai baol*,
181 to persuade with false promises; *-doi*, to prevaricate; *-dwa*, to deceive with threats or intent to frighten; *kida*, to distort (distort) meaning, to speak crookedly; *rime*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tafa-ahda*, to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *tanai tanga*, to talk at random without regard for truth; *-uare*, to deny falsely. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pattern of mistrusting spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost early in life, persists throughout adult experiences and reaches its fullest expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of finance.

645 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the disci-
567 plinary techniques used to bring young children into social alignment.
655 Use of this device continues in later childhood. Obviously, however, bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. Formerly the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of
644 slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop upper- nearly twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very frequent occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being bought and sold by people from Atindang, so that the practice must have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retribution were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose parents were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright or used in a dowry and bride-price exchange. Such children passed usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or two, always being moved farther from their original village until finally they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members
567 of the family, but a special term (*maia*) was applied to them.

853 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

The People of Alor

593 two monogamous and apparently devoted middle-aged couples who, never having had children of their own, each adopted an orphan.

[597]

Before we can weave all these sexual attitudes into some sort of functional coherence, a few comments must be made on the subject of jealousy. That men are jealous of their wives' behavior both before and after marriage is obvious from what has already been said. Adultery is punishable by death, although a husband is most often satisfied with a fine, and the male culprit usually moves away until the trouble is forgotten. The most extreme cases of male vengeance for adultery are to be found in the latter part of Maltaka's autobiography.

[648]

632 There are a number of devices for magically securing or keeping the love of a desired person. As might be anticipated, they all deal with food. A woman who wishes to keep the love of her husband can do so by putting into the bottom of the food pot shreds of her loincloth, clippings of pubic or axillary hair, or clippings of her nails. Certain plants too have the same effect. When the man breathes the steam of the food into which tiny bits of the proper plant have been dropped, he thinks thereafter of no one but the woman who cooked the food.

777

632 Men are supposed to know of certain roots, pieces of which, carried in the bottom of their areca baskets, will give them luck both in wealth and in sex quests. Also, diamond- and lizard-shaped figures are cut by men from the crisp, thin sheath that grows out of some bamboo joints. These talismans (*tadialang*) are hung by a bit of string from the house eaves so that they wave in the wind. Their waving is supposed to beckon either women or wealth, depending on the wish expressed by the maker. Certainly never more clearly does the wealth, food, and sex linkage come out than in these love charms.

595

Jealousy on the part of women has direct cultural outlets and aggressive expression. When a man takes a second wife, for example, it is considered good form for the first one to quarrel about it. As might be expected, these quarrels are often phrased in terms of property. The first wife will ask how a man can afford to pay a bride-price on another woman when he has paid so little on her. Or she will claim that the pigs he has given for a second wife were in large part raised by herself, which may be true, and that she does not want them so disposed of. She does not have theoretic claim on flesh food, but in practice she may insist, quite rightly, on her interest in it.

After a few reproaches of this sort the first wife seeks out the second. They exchange insults for a time and then begin pulling, tugging, and boxing at each other. Immediately all the women of the village become involved. Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in

Some Psychological Aspects of Religion

165

mouth instead of giving food may just possibly be considered fantasies centering on infantile feeding experiences. 155

GOOD BEINGS

The motif of revivification by spilling food on a corpse is poorly developed in these speculations by Rikpa. It is, however, one of the most persistent myth motifs, especially in myths dealing with Good Beings (sacred being; literally, something good). They inhabit villages above in the sky or below in the sea. There seems to be no relation between their place of residence and the abodes of the dead. Around these beings are woven the most numerous and elaborate myths and they are an ever-present reality. The murder of the rajah in 1918 was precipitated by his followers' disrespectful treatment of a woman who had established herself in the minds of her fellow villagers as a Good Being. 157

In 1939 Malelaka had the Five Villages at a high pitch of excitement over his predictions of the imminent arrival of these supernatural. In one day two small guesthouses were erected, an area was cleared and fenced, and in addition two stone basins were made into which would flow upon the arrival of the Good Beings two miraculous streams. In one the old could bathe and be rejuvenated; in the other, people would be healed of their illnesses. Death would disappear and death fears were to be discontinued. Meanwhile people were to abstain from such foods as eels, crayfish, crabs, and fish. For some six recent prophets on whom there is material these ideas remain fairly constant. The interesting thing about the ideas are the fantasies they express—the desires to escape death, illness, and death fears. The conflicts that this last prophecy created in Malelaka are reflected in his autobiography, which was given at the time when his Good Being speculations were once more active. 157

That such wishful thinking was not limited to Malelaka and his fellow prophets is evinced by the cooperation they received in preparing for these supernatural. People from many surrounding villages were sufficiently credulous to bring their sick to the expected advent. There was in fact so much excited interest that the government sent up the full garrison of troops to destroy the structures and arrest Malelaka. This interference plus the disastrous war of 1918 led to the growth of a good deal of scepticism, and the tentative Good Being talk current in 1938 and 1939 was meeting with much incredulity. The inclination to abandon what has been a failure seems to me a consistent part of the nonfanatical and realistic temperament of Atinehangers. They are far 157

Mangma the Genealogist

221

sleep there. After we had been living together for some time, I put a *fishwa moko* in the loft (as a bride-price). When we slept under it that night, the woman heard the *moko* make a noise and she said, "Tsi" (an explosive whose meaning was that she was not willing to continue the relationship). We had lived together for two years. When we changed our minds, Manialurka said I should get back my property, so I went and took away the *moko*.

[This first sex experience, about which he had been reticent to date, was before he asked for the Raulwali girl, but after he had returned from Awas; it was also before he was approached by Fungshani of Lakswi.]

I ligasted against this woman. I gave the radjah and the kapitan eight chickens to eat. They threatened the woman with jail. She cried, so they let her go. The other man, Fanahurka, was afraid and would not go down to the coast to ligasten. She married Fanahurka afterward. She cried and promised to pay when she got back to the village. [Here the hour was over but Mangana could not be stopped.] Kapitan Jacob helped the girl. He was still in school at Kalabahi. Two school children from Aila helped me. [Only school children had learned Malay and could serve as interpreters between natives and government officials.] Jacob wanted to punish me because I had already slept with her. The two Aila boys said it was true that I had slept with her, but I had given a moko, built a house for her and her parents to live in, and started raising pigs and chickens there; so we were husband and wife. They said, "If he has already slept with her many times, then she is his wife." Jacob wanted to have me beaten. He still said I was wrong. One white grackman there was angry with Jacob for this and boxed his ears. Then he said the woman should marry a coast man, and the coast man would pay me back the moko. The woman cried. She said she wanted to go back to her village and that she would pay when she got there. The official said, "There is a small market to be held here in three days. You must go through the water ordeal at that time to see who is right." [This is improbable, since the government tried to eradicate ordeals as a system of judgment.] Then Jacob's father came to ask what was wrong. Jacob said there was trouble over a woman. All the coast people sided with me. Jacob's father said, "If we stay and the girl is wrong, we shall have to repudiate her, so go tell her and her parents to run away." She and her parents did run away. The next morning people said they had left to fetch food. The water ordeal wasn't held. When the woman returned to Atimeleng, she shouted as she came down the slope that it was my fault. But it wasn't.

The People of Alor

[59] The Laksheta people danced that night but the Senhieta people did not. A Senhieta man called, "Why don't you people come down and join in the dance?" but the people answered, "Our stomachs are full of rice cones and we want to sleep. You owners of the spirit clear can dance." Then the dream broke off.

Near dawn I dreamed again. I dreamed there was a wire chain hanging down from the sky and my soul climbed up to the sky on it. As I approached there was a tree. It was hanging upside down with its roots in the sky. I took hold of it and went on up and found myself with my head down and my feet up. I was afraid and searched for the wire chain to come down. I was afraid of falling. Halfway down I said, "In that tree I was upside down and nearly fell. It is lucky I got away." When I got down to my house, I looked up and saw the sky was very dark and distant. Then someone spoke behind me, saying, "Who ordered you to climb that wire? It is very far. If you had fallen, your bones and body would have disappeared in mid-air. They would never have reached the earth." I went to the next dance place and people were tying a python to a carrying pole. I asked what it was for, and they said, "We wanted to sell this to the nonya [I had a short time before bought a python skin], but she has one already and that is all she wants. She is through buying. So now we want to take this to Kalabahi to sell." Then Pambas Bear and his younger brother, Jacobis, carried it off. I woke up.

[60] [I asked why these dreams were bad.] When I dream of rice cones, it is a sign that people will fight and get wounds. Once before I dreamed of them, and my female kinwomen, among whom the cones were divided in my dream, have all been wounded — Malimai [his sister], the adopted daughter of the chief of Alurkowi, and my wife. [These women had really received more or less severe wounds during the last year.]

[61] [Question.] The ascent to the sky is a sign of hunger. It means there will be a big storm and the people will be hungry because the cassava and sweet potato crop will fail. [Actually the recent storm had made bad inroads on the gardens. Question.] The snake was already tied; so that was a sign of buying a mako. Maybe someone will bring a valuable mako here, and we will buy it but resell it right away.

May 10, 1939

[62] [63] Yesterday the musikan called the people to work on the government camp. Last night I dreamed all the people gathered and worked very hard until they had repaired it all and even removed the sand washed

Malelaka the Prophet

341

women. The only thing they said was, "Come, we shall go to our father." But I thought they were evil spirits and I said, "No, I am going off to dun." I didn't know they were supernatural beings. At that time I didn't know there was a Good Beings' village above Mt. Lalang. The women asked me again to go up with them, but I wouldn't.

Then I went to Kafei and in two days I came back. On the way back I didn't see anything.

When I went to Kafei, the people from Fungwati were busy preparing for their Good Beings [1917 or 1918]. Shortly after I came back, the rajah went there and was killed. Then the war began. I had a big house at the time, but I went to sleep in my small field house. Once I was lying there on my back looking up when a frond of coconut or aren palm fell on my chest. At this fell, it was suddenly light in the house, as though a lamp were lighted. I looked but I did not hear or see anything. This was a tally of their coming [resembling the upit coconut leaf used as a tally in connection with invitations to feasts].

Then after the war was over, an official came and gave out tax slips. There was a dance that night at the government camp. As I stood watching it the officials told me to join in. I told them I had a fever, so they said I should go lie down and sleep. I went to my house and slept. I heard someone call. I looked out the front and back doors but saw no one. Then the one who had called struck a storage basket up in the loft. I looked up into the loft and saw a person, who said to me, "Now the government is changing everything right and left. You must follow the government. If you don't they will beat you. You must not eat crabs, crayfish, or fish." I said, "Come down." He said, "No, I only came to say what I have said." A big wind blew as he went up from the first loft to the second. He parted the thatch as one opens a window and went out. One bundle of thatch fell down where he had left. [Note that Malelaka reported fever at the time. This was probably malaria, since it is endemic in Atimelang. He also had an enlarged spleen. In general, how many of the sincere hallucinations were attributable to delirium? People took fever so much for granted that they scarcely noticed a high temperature or thought it worth mentioning.]

At that time I was not yet married. Shortly after that I bought Lonfani. One day I was doing *corvee* on the new government camp. I was stamping down the earth floor. The kapitan shouted at me to work. I said, "You call only me to work. There are many other people here also." Then the kapitan took a rattan switch and stood alongside me.

The People of Alor

^x157 (Have you been quarreling with Lakamau?) Yes, we are having much trouble over areca, and his wife [i.e., Fantan's sister] is moving my boundary stones. [Fantan lived with his sister on their adjoining fields.] I told them they had better leave. The field is mine. I am a man and the youngest son. [Actually these were not claims to prior possession of fields. I asked, "How long have you been quarreling?"] For ten days now; but from the time I was a child Maraima and I have fought a lot. Every time I say something Maraima gets angry. Lakamau sides with her. Those areca trees are mine; my father planted them. But Lakamau says the trees are on Maraima's land and are his. I say to him, "Your mother and father perhaps didn't know how to plant arecas and coconuts; they weren't industrious. I have already given you a wife; don't be bold enough to take my areca." The other day I ripped down their house walls and told them to leave, but they just mended them and stayed. [Question.] That was a month ago. Because I came to you they take my areca, sell it, and keep the money. [Question.] My wife can't guard it. Lakamau just takes it. [Question.] Lakamau is making a small house in Alurkowati now. Maybe they will leave. I don't know. [Previously Fantan had always denied his obvious hostility to his sister. I asked, "Does your wife help you in the quarrels?"] When they drag in her name she helps, but when just the three of us are fighting she stays out of it. [Question.] Maraima and Lakamau have been living in the field just one year. Before that I lived with them in Alurkowati, but I wasn't there much. When I returned from Makangfokung I went to live for three months in Rualnelang. [Question.] The trouble over areca began when my father died.

[Short pause.] When I was still small and lived at Mainmelang [the field where he is now living] I dreamed. This was the beginning of taxation, and nobody paid. All the grown men were in Kalabahi, either in jail or trying to earn money. I dreamed that the former rimukan [his present father-in-law] was coming back. Early in the morning I went and told his wife, and we went to look. We saw him coming. He said, "That child's dreams are like mirrors."

Once when I was staying at Makangfokung I saw an eel as big as my thigh. It was hunting crayfish. I shot the eel and followed it into water so deep it would have been over my head. We struggled, but the eel got away into deep water. This was the first time I made a garden at Manifulu. My father was already dead, but my mother was still alive.

I went to Makangfokung, where my elder sisters [cousins] lived in a field house. I told them I had come to cut the field. There was a woman

Tilapada

401

said, "Where were you?" I said, "Perhaps I was taking Maliema's soul [59] to heaven." The tumukun said, "It is lucky you came back. Maybe you have brought Maliema's soul back with you?" I said, "If I had been wrong, they might have burned me; but I wasn't wrong, so they brought me back down." The tumukun said, "Tell me more." So I said, "People who are wrong are probably burned up. Many people saw others being burned." The tumukun said, "It is lucky you came back. Go sit quietly." So I went to my house and then I woke up.

Perhaps I dreamed this because I haven't yet fed my familiar spirit carving. I dreamed of the things about which the native missionary [797] talked. When he was here there was a lot of church, and maybe his words were true. Perhaps I dreamed the truth.

I had another dream last night. My husband carried bamboo to build a house at Vi Nats (the site of the government camp). I said, "That bamboo is no good." Likma said, "Let us build the house." Then Maugata [Hendrik, her 8-year-old son] came; he was thin. I pounded corn to feed him.

This means that Maugata will be sick. (What does carrying bamboo [797] mean?) This means people will hit Likma with rattan switches. (Why?) Because he may not have enough money for next year's taxes. (Meaning of the house at the government camp?) If the taxes are unpaid many [798] people are beaten there at the camp.

(At this point Tilapada turned to the interpreter and asked how many days her son had been in Kalabaki. The interpreter answered that he had been gone five days.)

When we swung on ropes, there was one for girls and one for boys. We girls fell off first and the boys would drop on top of us. [Giggles.] [799] We fought and fought, boys against girls. We went home to cook and eat, but we returned again and again to play on the rope. A girl who was on the bottom of the pile cried and said her skull was split. We were frightened and tried to pick her up. When we spoke nicely to her, she revived. We then went home.

When I was about eleven or twelve, Faimai, who was already married, came to me. She said her husband wanted to sleep with her and so we had better go sleep in an empty field house. We went to dig sweet potatoes, which we ate raw. At dark Makalaka came and threatened us with a sword. He asked why we were alone at night. Faimai answered that she didn't want to have intercourse with her husband and had called me to sleep there with her. Makalaka asked why she had brought a small child like me to an empty house to sleep. Faimai said her hus-

Tilepada

419

gave them the receipt. Meanwhile the soldiers had hit and kicked Likma. 159^x

January 5, 1939

When they brought Atamai and Likma back, Atamai produced his tax receipt, but Likma did not yet have his. So they set Atamai to work making a fence, but Likma they put in jail at the government camp. Then Likma's receipt was brought and he was released. The sergeant was angry with Kapitan Jacob and the soldiers for shutting him up. Jacob excused himself, saying he did not know Likma was from here and thought he was a Mainang man hiding himself here.

We were harvesting the corn at this time. There was much stacked in the house, but no one to tie it. I went out to call three women to help me, but I met Likma and he came back to tie the corn. There were a hundred and twenty large and small bundles. Then we called people to help us carry the corn into the village.

That year the soldiers came and said we had to build our houses near the government camp. We all moved down, (to the valley). Likma made a big house, and everyone, including the tumukun and Famani, came and lived there. There were a hundred people in one house (?). Then Famani's mother died. The gangs were hung in the house. Likma was dancing in play with the children when the house collapsed. The gangs were almost broken. The tumukun was asleep in the loft. Maina was feeling around in the loft to see if the mikes were safe and yelled that a beam had fallen. I thought he meant on the tumukun and began to cry, but Maina laughed and said, "No, it was across the moko." The old man said, "If we are hurt it is nothing, but see if the children have wounds." No one was hurt.

Then Mailang asked us to live with him. We all did except Famani and his wife. We stayed there three years, until I was pregnant with Berkama. There was a spick-bird feast for Malitaka's father. After it Berkama was born. He grew until he could laugh. Then there was a hungry time and Likma went to Kalabahi, where he bought fifty cents' worth of corn at one cent an ear. Kolpada (Langmai's wife) carried it up for him. In a week or so Likma thought he had better return too. At this time I noticed that Berkama was sick, and I stayed in the house with him. Likma said we had better go to see Talkalata (a sorcerer), so I carried Berkama there and the next day he died. Mailani gave us a shirt (as a shroud) in which to wrap Berkama. Then he asked Likma and me to go live with him in his new house in Lawanka. While we were

Lomani

439

here and work, because my child was still living with her grandparents. When she is older she will have thoughts and will come to me, or when my heart remembers I can go to her. [All this was told in a monotone without pause or comment. The informant then came to a stop. Question.] The child lives in Rualmahang with her grandparents. Now my child stays there, but when my heart remembers her I can go there and cut weeds at her side. [She came to a stop again.]

[Very first memory?] When they killed the radjah, soldiers were hunting people, and mother took me to Makangfui near Bakudatang. Mother carried me and set me down between the roots of a *tamar* tree. Mother said, "Sit here. The soldiers must leave before we return to the village." At night we went to sleep in a house, but by day mother hid me. [Question.] My sister Kawaimani was there too. Cornelius' father [Manimai, Lomani's father's younger brother] took me, mother, and Kawaimani each day to hide us in the tree roots until the soldiers left. We were there a month. Then he took us to Raugfui. We stayed there and then Manimai said, "My two children and my widow, don't get shot." Falepangmai [the tumukun's first wife] was with us too. Manimai took us to a thorn patch [alokai]. Falepangmai was still small and she twisted her words. She called thorns takolokai [mail]. She would get pricked by a thorn and say, "Adiye, takolokai." [Here the informant laughed.] She called the soldiers *urang berka*. [Literally, bad storage tube. The usual term was *uolungai*, meaning green and referring to the color of the soldiers' uniforms. Another term used was the Malay word *soldara*.] She was little and she twisted her words. Manimai, my uncle, stood on a stone and watched the path for soldiers. The soldiers were going everywhere, hunting for people who had escaped from Fungwati [the village in which the radjah was murdered and the population of which the government had largely exterminated]. We stayed there until the soldiers didn't come any more. Then we lived at Raugfui in a field house and Manimai went to live in Feberka. [Question.] There were two fields at Raugfui. We lived in one and Maipada [the husband of Fuimai] and his family lived in the other some distance away.

When we lived there, I and Kawaimani were out getting greens and cassava one day. We started home. A dead stump was standing there. The clouds were black and it was dark. The stump looked like a man with a shield. We were afraid. Kawaimani said, "A man is standing there with a shield. He will shoot us. It is probably Manife [a notorious killer of the vicinity]." We cried and ran, then we turned back to look

Lomani

445

next day, mother said, "You can't play with other people. If you want ^{159x} to play with people, ask them here; don't go to their houses." So Kolata and I played together, pounding earth between stones and making believe it was corn. We said our husbands had gone and we were cooking for their return. We played at that until midday and we were hungry, and then we went into the house to eat. Then we said our husbands were near and went back to play at cooking. We used leaves as plates and set up three stones as a tripod. When we had cooked, we said, "Oh, maybe our husbands are sleeping someplace. Perhaps we had better throw out this food and go to our houses." So we went home, and the next day we played the same game; we played at cooking for our husbands. Then we went to hunt for grasshoppers and brought them home and really cooked and ate them. We went back to play at cooking for our husbands. [These children actually knew how to cook, but in addition they also played at it.]

March 14, 1939

There is something I haven't told about the soldiers. When I was about four or five, they came to collect taxes. All who hadn't paid they ^[55] dragged to the government camp. They took my mother and Kolata, ^[62] many of us. On the way my mother escaped and ran off to hide in the brush. Letiani had already paid his taxes, but the soldiers had taken his wife, Matinglang, and his children. So he followed us and showed the soldiers his tax receipt. He said, "This is my wife and all these are my children." He pointed to me and Kewaimani too. The soldiers said, "All right, you may take your wife and children, but the others must stay." So we started back to Atimilang. On the way we met mother, who had made four rice pats for us to eat on the trip and was bringing them to us. So we all went back together. Kolata was with us, and she cried and cried because they had carried off her mother. She cried a great deal. Then mother said, "I had better go fetch some corn so that Letiani can take it to Kolata's mother." So she did and gave Letiani corn to take to Kolata (the mother of Kolata). Then the soldiers took her away. Many women and men too were taken. They took them to some place in Mainang and put them in a pigpen along with pigs for six days, and then they let them go. There were infants in arms too. They had only mangos to eat.

When I was about six, a big sickness came [the influenza epidemic ^[73] of 1918]. Many people died, one or two in each house. There were plenty of pigs for their feasts, but not enough corn. People fetched

154 After my maternal grandmother's death feast, Lakakileta (her mother's older brother) gave a feast for his grandparents. We took a pig to Atimelang for it.

[She was having difficulty talking. I asked who was her favorite sibling. There was the usual confusion and hesitation about expressing a preference in a case of this sort, but finally she said it was her older sister, Tilaleti.] When we had smallpox, Tilaleti and her husband were the ones who helped us with food. When I gave a feast she always helped. [Didn't your brother help?] When Manilang was still in Hatoberka, he never came to see me. After he died I went to Mailang in Hatoberka, and he gave me a big dowry payment. First Mailang married Malielani. When I went [to visit them], Malielani never gave me anything. Then he married Koloti, and Koloti always gives me something when I go there. When Manilang was still living, his wife Fuifani never gave me anything, even when Manilang told her to. She always quarreled about it. Now Ataboi's wife gives me things. [Ataboi is her half brother, by the same mother but a different father.] Fuifani and Malielani never gave us anything, but the other two [sisters-in-law] always give us anything they have. Mailang and Ataboi have made many dowry payments on me. My son and his father exchanged bride-prices often with them. Lanpada of Talmang isn't strong any more. He doesn't give us much, so we don't go to him any more. We just go to Hatoberka for feasts. Alomale of Talmang is my Elder House, but he doesn't give us much food. He is nice, but he doesn't know how to work and doesn't have much. I don't want to go back to Talmang and Wailafang because the earth is infected. We had much sickness there, and I don't want to remember the place. [These were the informant's villages and the places where her six uncles died of smallpox in one year. Pause.]

When there was a death feast at Fulsafang for Makallaka, mother and I took a pig. [Note how she listed feasts when she blocked. I asked about the death of her mother.]

613 When mother died, wars were being stopped by the government. I had already borne my oldest child (the chief of Atimelang) and Fuifani when mother died. [She stopped. I asked how her mother died.] My mother died because she picked the squash of an evil spirit. She had planted the squash herself, but this squash had two stems for one fruit. Mother picked, cooked, and ate it. Then the evil spirit followed her and possessed her. People came to tell me and Tilaleti that an evil spirit had possessed our mother and that she was probably al-

the terse Tom, Dick and Harry, had long since been forgotten as trivialities. So, as I stood the next day on the little cement pier of Kalabahi and watched the tourists land, the contrast we presented had already faded. For us, their world and this one of Aler were already fused.

541
431 The visitors drifted slowly through the small port of Kalabahi, staring at the lopsided round dances specially staged for them, buying beads and bows and arrows and bargaining eagerly for the expensive metal bottles called *enasi* which are the prized and noted currency of Aler. I felt in the group a sense of disappointment and *enasi*. Aler and its natives seemed wild and crude by comparison to the rich security and elaborate beauty of Bali, from which they had just come. Since I was the only person who spoke English with any ease, many of the travelers stopped to chat with me and to express their utter amazement that I should be there and find life not too strange. It seemed impossible to convey to the gentleman from New York who was so concerned about the stock market that he and my black friend Mallesi were brothers under the skin, that both were financiers juggling the complex credit systems of their two cultures, suffering the harassments of insecurity and searching for stability and success with the same weapons. That one used dollars for currency and the other dealt in pigs, pigs and *enasi* made, after all, but a slight difference. Both were essentially unconcerned with the immediate of subsistence; both were concerned with worries about the prestige manipulation of finance. Before I press too far the similarities in general terms, it would be better to sketch how I had seen the economic wheels go round in the village of Atimelang.

512 At an altitude of twenty-five hundred feet even tropical nights can be cool. To avoid natives they seemed actually cold. So not until the six o'clock sunrise each morning, when the mist came drifting out of the valley, did *enasi* begin to sift through the pyramidal thatch roofs and the muted tap of over-pounding indicate that breakfast was being prepared. As the sun rose higher and the dew began to dry, women climbed down the house ladders with their carrying too-